2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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773 ground. When this had been done, He proceeded to make man. In forming him, He took a piece of wood to use as the spine and frame and filled in the spaces with earth. Hence it happens that when a man has grown old, his back bends like an ancient tree; yea, it sometimes bends so much that he becomes as stooping as a deer."

571 During my sojourn among this people, I used frequently to hear the younger folk call one another by such names as "Crook-back," and "Mangy, aged deer," but I could never see wherein the sting lay till I was made acquainted with this legend. Having learned it myself, I tried it on one or two people, but instead of their getting angry I was only rewarded with fits of laughter, which produced the effects I wanted.

829 The Ainu are very anthropomorphic in their ideas of the Divine, and they ascribe mistakes to the gods somewhat freely. They often treat them as equals. Even the divine Aeoina was not perfect, as the curious tale now to be cited shows.

772 773 "When God was in the act of making the first man and had nearly finished His task, it happened to be necessary for him unexpectedly to return to heaven on important business. Just before setting out, He called a river otter which happened to be near, and told him He was going away, but would very soon send another deity to finish the job, and he, the otter, was to deliver a certain message to him, explaining what to do. Now, although this animal said he would be sure to give the message, he grew careless, and did nothing but amuse himself by going up and down the rivers catching fish and gorging himself with their flesh. So intent was he on his fishing that he entirely forgot the message—yea, the otter clean forgot all about it. This is why the first man was made so imperfect. As a punishment for this delinquency and astounding forgetfulness, God inflicted him with a bad memory—yea, He took his memory clean away. This

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is why the otter can remember nothing at all now." Thus, then, the appearance of the Ainu upon earth is all owing to the divine Aeoina, and his imperfections are all owing to the imperfections of his maker and the otter.

I know of a certain place called "Axe-rock." It is in shape more or less like a big, broad axe lying with the edge up. It is a small hill lying a little way off the end of a big mountain to which it is connected by a low, narrow neck, which is taken for the axe helve. I was once told that this is supposed to be one of the sixty axes with which the divine one knocked Yezo into shape. The Ainu idea of creation is by no means like that of many Europeans, for they thoroughly believe that "nothing produces nothing." *Ex nihilo nihil fit.*

When writing about the status of women in a previous chapter, I mentioned how the fact of the Western coasts of Hokkaidō being so very rough and rugged is accounted for by the garrulity of a woman, who, instead of attending to her business in a proper manner, went gossiping with another woman and so in the end, working too hurriedly in order to make up for lost time, finished her task in a very slovenly manner. This making of Hokkaidō was simply a knocking of the island into shape and thereby rendering it fit for habitation. The Ainu take it for granted that matter is eternal.

Given the primal elements, they strive to account for the many different kinds and manifestations of organic life, and also for the existence of inorganic substances, in their own rude and thoroughly animistic way. Being the sons of nature that they are, they are fond of theorizing about what meets the eye, and often allow their imaginations to run away with both judgment and reason to an absurdly ridiculous extent. According to them, there is very little difference between vegetable, animal and spirit life—between the life of a plant and that of a reptile, man, demon, angel

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823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would
[776] put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

● 772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri*, i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

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land and as full of light as our world is." And then he added, "The thunder demon once came to Ainu-land and waged a most grievous war here. So disastrous was it that this earth could not sustain it. He therefore ascended to Heaven and carried on the conflict there. The Creator was so worried at this that He made him descend into the lowest depths of the earth to wage his battles. Here he was slain. But as it is impossible for any god or demon really to die, his living spirit went up to the lower skies to dwell. His home is there now." The chief finished his discourse by giving me another myth.

"The world in which we live is called by two names, 'The upper world' and 'The world where people trample one another.' It is also sometimes called 'The world for propagating one another.' It is named 'Upper world' because there is another world just beneath it. That world is very damp, and when wicked people go there after death they are punished. By the side of this place there is another locality which is called 'The land of the gods.' It is to this place the good go at death. They are there with the gods and walk about upside down after the manner of flies so that their feet are opposite to ours. When it is day upon our earth it is night in heaven. When it is daylight there it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world of ours, men should neither do any work nor trim one another's hair nor cut their beards, for at that time the gods and the spirits of our forefathers are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of our world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with death early."

I conclude this chapter with a dream. A chief came to me from another village one day and told me about a dream he had had the night before and which was troubling him. It was this, he said:

"A certain chief, who died some time ago, appeared to me and said, 'Pay great attention. I am Chief

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CHAPTER XXI

A JOURNEY TO HADES

Speaking of Heaven and Hell, one day a man said to me, "The place to which good people go after death is called the home or land of the gods. There people live in a state of supreme happiness. Though they may be far away under our earth, they yet take a lively interest in what is going on among men living in this our upper world. *Pokna shiri*, i.e. 'the lower world,' is the place to which all spirits go upon leaving their earthly bodies. 772 775

"In the centre of this land there are three roads, the first leading to the upper world in which we now dwell. It goes right to the very centre of Hades, and every person born into this world must traverse this road at some time or other. The second and third roads also start from the middle of Hades and lead, one to Heaven and the other to Gehenna. Watch-dogs are stationed at different points along these roads to direct people on their journey. As soon as the soul of a man gets to the place where the first watch-dog is stationed, the animal informs him that the Creator has sent word through the Goddess of Fire as to where he is to go. If he has been good during his life upon earth, he passes along to Heaven, at the gates of which place gods and men meet him and lead him in. But if it be the soul of a wicked person, a message has been received to say that he must go to Gehenna for punishment. If, however, the spirit denies having done evil, the Goddess of Fire is summoned and she causes a great picture to arise before him, in which is very

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

772 775 clearly depicted his whole previous life. Nothing more is needed, for he stands self-condemned and there can be no escape." One wonders if this picture is not the man's memory! Why not?

The word which I have translated by Gehenna is *Teinci-pokna-moshiri*, i.e. "wet underground world." Here the wicked are punished. What that punishment consists in seems to be doubtful. Some say it is very hot there, and others very cold. Some say the very bad people get frozen up in a block of ice in this place, and others that they will live suffering indescribable agonies in fire, which fire exists in the very centre of the world. While good animals go to Heaven with their good masters, evil animals go to Gehenna with their wicked masters. And the Ainu seem to believe that it is a case of "like master, like man" there.

Not only do the people believe that the souls of human beings will have a conscious, personal existence after death, but those of animals also. They seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no more death or sorrow. They believe that husband and wife, parent and child will be rejoined to one another after death, and that there will be marrying and giving in marriage. But there will be no more pain and suffering. The living fully expect to have bodies in form just like the present ones, to live in houses, to have their daily work to do, their hunting and fishing, their dogs and other animals. They will laugh and talk, eat and drink as now, and altogether have a very material existence.

A curious thing about the people who live a life beyond the grave is that they are supposed to regard persons who have not yet crossed the river of death as ghosts, and consider themselves to be the natural and substantial people. They can visit this earth in the form of ghosts whenever they desire to do so; and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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some of us also can make a call upon them in the same capacity, if we make up our minds to do so. When they come to us they are invisible to our eyes, and when we go to them they can not see us. Their ghosts can see us when they pay us visits, and can hear what we say but cannot address us; and our ghosts can likewise see and hear them when they go to the lower world, but are unable to make themselves heard. Nevertheless, the dogs are able to discover when a ghost is about and when they scent one they set up a tremendous howling.

"Once upon a time," so a friend told me, "there were two young men who were devoted friends. They had heard it said that the entrance of a certain cavern in a rock led straight on to the place of departed spirits, and if any had the courage to take the journey he might go to see what the land was like. One of the young men determined to visit the place. On entering the cave, he could at first see nothing but thick darkness. But as he proceeded on his journey he discovered a speck of light straight in front of him. The farther he went the stronger grew the light ahead and the darker became the cave behind.

"At last he came to a most magnificent country filled with the brightest light. Beautiful forests of stately trees, and mighty plains of reeds and grass opened out before him, and rivers of sparkling clear water divided up the lowlands. It was indeed a beautiful country. After a while he came to a village, and saw many persons he had known in the upper world before they died. He tried to speak to them, but they all began to look this way and that with evident perplexity, wonder and fear. The dogs also set up a grievous howling. Even his own father did not know him and his mother fled away in fear. The people all said there was a ghost about. After this reception he gave up attempting to reveal himself and set out on his return journey to the upper world.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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772 775 539 "As he was journeying back, he met a man whom he thought looked like his friend. However, as it was somewhat dark in the passage, he could not be quite sure. The man had a weary, ill, haggard look about him, and was carrying a bag on his shoulders. On addressing him, he rushed by, as in great fear, and sped swiftly to the lower world. On reaching the cavern by which he had entered, he immediately set out for the home of his friend, but, alas, he found him dead. Without doubt it was his departing spirit he had met in the passage to the lower world."

539 Another legend upon the same subject throws further light on the Ainu ideas of the next world. It tells us that when the dogs on one occasion discovered, in the world of the departed, a ghost from the upper world, they set up a great howling. Upon this the inhabitants, including the father and mother of the ghost, made offerings of fetishes and set the refuse of their food outside the east end of the hut for the ghost to accept and eat. He was very angry at having such dregs offered him and endeavoured to knock it all away; but the filthy stuff only flew back into his bosom and he could not get rid of it, try how he might. It was only after he emerged into the upper world of living men that the refuse offered him could be got rid of.

"So," said the Ainu, "just as the man felt when the inhabitants of that country offered him such foul stuff, do the ghosts feel when they come to this earth of ours and are given the dregs of our food. We ought to treat them with proper respect, lest they feel disgusted with us. Besides, how do we know whose ghost it is?" It has already been noted elsewhere that the Ainu fancy the ghosts which come from the nether world have the power of bewitching and otherwise harming those whom they dislike or who have treated them badly.

"Once upon a time there was a man who had two sons. Now it happened that one day when the younger

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLVI

ON COSMOLOGY AND THE DEMON OF THUNDER

When talking with me on the subject of cosmology, 772
the Ainu used never to forget to bring in the subject of the place they named *Chiroma-moshiri* or the "Lowest world." It is therefore very evident that the subject of Tartarus figures in their mythology and cosmology. It is my intention to take up this matter now. It is not for a moment pretended here that in every respect the lowest world of the Ainu and the Tartarus of Homer are the same. Tartarus, as described in the Iliad, is a deep and sunless abyss, as far below Hades as heaven is above the earth. It is enclosed in iron gates into which Zeus hurled those who rebelled against him and thus repudiated his authority. Later writers undoubtedly considered it to be a place of punishment for the spirits of the wicked, and the poets of later times considered the name to be synonymous with Hades.

In so far as I am able to judge by what the old Ainu told me many years ago of their ancient lore, together with later-day interpretations, the people did not mean Sheol or Hades, where all men go at the time of death, when they spoke of this place. In their tongue, Hades is called *Pokna moshiri*, 'the under-world.' Nor did they mean Gehenna, where the wicked are punished, for that is called by them *Nitne kamui moshiri*, 'the world of devils,' and *Teinci-pokna Moshiri*, which means 'wet underground world.' Tartarus, in their idea, is not the abode of men in any condition. They consider it to be the bounds of this material creation. The word

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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● 772 meaning to "cast into Tartarus" occurs once in the Christian Scriptures and refers to the place where we are told that the angels when they sinned were not spared but cast down to Tartarus, and committed to the pits of darkness. Thus it will be seen that the Ainu idea of Tartarus differs from the meaning of that place as gathered from both the Iliad and the Scriptures.

Yet, though their conception of Tartarus seems to differ from the Greek and Christian representations in some respects, it is found to agree with them in others. As regards *place*, it is thought by them to be situated at the very confines of all created worlds. There are supposed by some to be six worlds beneath this upon which we dwell. The very lowest of these is called 'the lowest world' (*Chirama Moshiri*). I can find no word better suited to designate this place than Homer's Tartarus. But as regards the nature of this land, it is not supposed by the Ainu to be a place of darkness, though it may have iron gates. It is said to be a very beautiful country, as full of light as this world; and it does not seem to be the prison house or abode of fallen angels or any other living beings, whether they be gods, men, or demons. The thunder demon, after having waged war upon this earth, is said to have proceeded to do so in heaven, because this world was unable to stand such a grievous conflict. The Creator, Who resides in heaven above, was much distressed at this, and sent the demon to fight in the 'lowest world.' Here the thunder demon was slain, but as no god or demon can actually die, his spirit again ascended to its original home, namely, the clouds of the lower skies. Such is one Ainu tradition—vague indeed, it may be thought; still it is a tradition—concerning Tartarus.

There is another tradition or legend, however, which appears to militate against the above-mention-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. 772
Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three 539
names. First, the most common is *Kanna Moshiri*, i.e. 773
'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in [827]
heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither [784]
do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the in- [461]
habitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe 774
the soul to exist apart from the present material body 775
after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul 828
of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is; but I wish to give the exact translation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, which are said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*[1] stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

"They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"[2] that "The Ainu *know nothing* of a resurrection of the body."

It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

[1] *Teine*, wet; *pokna*, under; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.

[2] Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise*; associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise*; a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san*; open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma*; and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi*; a skinning spot, *iri an ushi*; a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworo* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such.

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity[5]. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 NATORI, 1941, p. 43) and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district i.e. Otopuke believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e.g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt. Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" (INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 64 The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high mountain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88,89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4; 176-7).

823

CHIRI remarks that the *kamui nupuri* or *kamui*-mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIRI, 1951, p. 11).

825 65 Return of the bear-spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writ-
776 ings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-
772 killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear-spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear), guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears, NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; pp. 176-177).

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area.

66 Season for the bear ceremony. Different writers and informers give different times for the bear ceremony: September or October (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121; mostly between late November and January to February (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256; in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February (SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126). The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rankoushi in Shikot (NATORI, 1941, p. 68); 16-17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 96); 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place (NATORI, 1941, p. 68). It must be noticed, however, that in the days when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. 53 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 ibid., p. 111 and another to one at a local headman's on 11 January, 1881 ibid., p. 160. SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67. Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shine itokpa* group.

67 Social aspect of bear ritual. The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant